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ABSTRACT

The patterns of moves in one type of teaching setting is very fixed: the teacher sets the stage for the learning, then sets tasks or asks questions for others to respond to and then comments on the performances. The problem with this pattern in language classrooms is that language is used differently in non-teaching settings. If students are exposed only to the typical teaching pattern, they will not be able to converse in a non-teaching setting. One way to introduce a wider range of patterns into one's classroom is to describe the patterns that exist and then alter them so they more closely parallel the range of patterns found in daily discourse. To help practicing teachers analyze their teaching, transcribed exchanges from Sesame Street, a TV soap opera, conversations in the park and at cocktail parties would be presented, along with transcribed exchanges from a range of second language classrooms. Participants at a session would first be introduced to the four types of moves. They would then be presented with examples of each and would code some of the excerpts. Finally, activities that can produce a range of patterns of moves in classroom settings would be presented and engaged in. (Author/CLK)

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Breaking the Rules of the Classroom Game Through Self Analysis

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A Presentation Made at the NYS ESOL/BEA 1976 Convention

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Introduction

The purpose of this presentation is to enable you to answer two questions:

1. What are some of the common patterns of communication in teaching and non-teaching settings?
2. How can a teacher who would like to expand the common patterns of communication in language classes do so?

Put another way, we will be trying to discover some of the implicit rules that govern communications in both teaching and non-teaching settings and suggesting some ways teachers can break some of the implicit rules that normally limit the range of communications possible in teaching settings.

There are two parts to the presentation, one devoted to each question. In the first part, you are invited to code eleven excerpts from teaching settings and five excerpts from non-teaching settings. This exercise will help you discover some of the different patterns of communications in teaching and non-teaching settings and thus addresses question 1. The coding of the excerpts presented here will by itself imply certain ways to break the rules we are presently bound by in our classes. But to supplement these, the second part of this presentation contains some explicit suggestions for expanding the common patterns of communications in classes. The explicit suggestions, intended to help teachers break the implicit rules that govern teaching, address question 2.

I. Coding Transcribed Excerpts from Teaching and Non-Teaching Settings

To describe some of the patterns of communication in the excerpts below, we will code only two characteristics of communications: the source of the communications and the purpose of the communications. After reading each excerpt below, predict the source of each communication. Note your prediction in the first blank space on the right using a "t" for the person in charge or the one

dominating the exchanges/ and an "s" for individuals who are being directed or dominated by someone else or who are peers.

The second blank space is reserved for the second characteristic of communication we are coding, the purpose of the communication. Though there are many purposes for communicating and many ways to classify purposes, only four purposes will be considered: structuring, soliciting, responding and reacting. In the second blank space, write "str" for structuring if the purpose of the communication is to set the stage for subsequent behavior and exercises or is self-directed activity such as reading silently on one's own without being told; write "sol" for soliciting if the communication sets a task or asks a question; write "res" for responding if the communication is a performance of a set task or an answer to a question; write "rea" for reacting if the communication comments on previous communications or actions or rates performances. (Bellack, 1966:4)

After you code each excerpt, compare your coding of the source of the communication and the purpose of the communication with the coding provided in the key at the bottom of each excerpt.

A. Eleven Excerpts from Teaching Settings*

Excerpt 1: Objects

1. OK. Now, we'll work on objects.	1.___ ___
2. What's this up here? (points to scissors)	2.___ ___
3. Scissors.	3.___ ___
4. Scissors.	4.___ ___
5. And this? (holding up an axe)	5.___ ___

*Some editing of these transcripts has been done in a few places to make the coding of some communications less ambiguous.

Excerpt 1: Objects, continued

6.	A axe.	6.___ ___
7.	An axe.	7.___ ___
8.	What's this thing? (indicating a knife)	8.___ ___
9.	A knife.	9.___ ___
10.	Who put the knife here?	10.___ ___
11.	What's this thing down here first? (pointing to a saw)	11.___ ___
12.	And then we'll go there.	12.___ ___
13.	A saw.	13.___ ___
14.	A saw.	14.___ ___
15.	And then? (indicating knife)	15.___ ___
16.	A knife.	16.___ ___
17.	Who put the knife here?	17.___ ___
18.	What's this? (holding up a key)	18.___ ___
19.	A key.	19.___ ___

Key: 1. t str, 2. t sol, 3. s res, 4. t rea, 5. t sol, 6. s res, 7. t rea, 8. t sol, 9. s res, 10. s sol, 11. t sol, 12. t str, 13. s res, 14. t rea, 15. t sol, 16. s res, 17. s sol, 18. t sol, 19. s res

Excerpt 2: Homework

1.	How many of you were able to do your homework over the weekend?	1. ___ ___
2.	(7 of the students raise their hands.)	2. ___ ___
3.	I'm really pleased that so many completed the homework.	3. ___ ___
4.	(walks around circle looking at work.)	4. ___ ___
5.	It all looks very neat--good work.	5. ___ ___

Key: 1. t sol, 2. s res, 3. t rea, 4. t str, 5. t rea

Excerpt 3: At Customs

1. Good morning. I'd like to ask you a few questions about your trip. 1.___ ___
2. How long have you been in Canada? 2.___ ___
3. Just three days. 3.___ ___
4. I see. 4.___ ___
5. And what were you here for? 5.___ ___
6. A conference. 6.___ ___
7. What kind of a conference? 7.___ ___
8. A teaching conference. 8.___ ___
9. A teaching conference! 9.___ ___
10. Who sponsored it? 10.___ ___
11. I don't know. 11.___ ___
12. You don't know.! 12.___ ___
13. I'm going to ask the other officer to continue! 13.___ ___

Key: 1. t str, 2. t sol, 3. s res, 4. t rea, 5. t sol, 6. s res
7. t sol, 8. s res, 9. t rea, 10. t sol, 11. s res, 12. t rea
13. t str

Excerpt 4: Words in Color

1. (Taps words on charts.) 1. ___ ___
2. He went instead. 2. ___ ___
3. OK. 3. ___ ___
4. (Taps stress for instead.) 4. ___ ___
5. instead . . . instead . . . instead 5. ___ ___
6. (shakes head sideways) You aren't listening. 6. ___ ___
7. (Taps stress for instead.) 7. ___ ___
8. instead 8. ___ ___
9. Now, tap it out. 9. ___ ___
10. (Taps stress for instead.) 10. ___ ___

Key: 1. t sol. 2. s res. 3. t rea. 4. t sol. 5. s res.
6. t rea. 7. t sol. 8. s res. 9. t sol. 10. s res

Excerpt 5: First Day in New York

1.	When did you arrive in New York?	1. ____ ____
2.	I arrived in New York in the winter.	2. ____ ____
3.	Is that correct? Is that a correct sentence?	3. ____ ____
4.	Yes.	4. ____ ____
5.	Very good.	5. ____ ____
6.	Where did you arrive?	6. ____ ____
7.	I arrived at the airport.	7. ____ ____
8.	Good.	8. ____ ____
9.	How did you arrive?	9. ____ ____
10.	I arrived by the boat.	10. ____ ____
11.	Is that correct?	11. ____ ____
12.	No.	12. ____ ____
13.	What is wrong with this? **(writes sentence on board)**	13. ____ ____
14.	No "the."	14. ____ ____
15.	Good.	15. ____ ____
16.	What was the weather like?	16. ____ ____
17.	The weather was very cold.	17. ____ ____
18.	That's good.	18. ____ ____

Key: 1. t sol. 2. s res. 3. t sol. 4. s res. 5. t rea,
6. t sol, 7. s res. 8. t rea, 9. t sol, 10. s res,
11. t sol. 12. s res, 13. t sol, 14. s res, 15. t rea,
16. t sol. 17. s res, 18. t rea

Excerpt 6: New in the Neighborhood

1. I've just moved into this neighborhood, and I'd like to get check cashing privilages here. 1.___ ___
2. Who do I see? 2.___ ___
3. The manager. 3.___ ___
4. Thanks. 4.___ ___
5. Can you help me? 5.___ ___
6. What do you want? 6.___ ___
7. I want to get check cashing privilages and the clerk told me to see the manager. 7.___ ___
8. What do you need to know? 8.___ ___
9. Your credit card numbers. 9.___ ___
10. What else? 10.___ ___
11. Your checking account number. 11.___ ___
12. Anything else? 12.___ ___
13. Just your address. 13.___ ___

Key: 1. t str, 2. t sol, 3. s res, 4. t rea, 5. t sol, 6. s sol, 7. t res,
8. t sol, 9. s res, 10. t sol, 11. s res, 12. t sol, 13. s res

Excerpt 7: On a Tennis Court

1.	Ideally, you want to throw more to the left. (said after a serve)	1. ___	___
2.	Try again.	2. ___	___
3.	(tosses the ball and serves it)	3. ___	___
4.	That was a little too far in front.	4. ___	___
5.	Try again.	5. ___	___
6.	(tosses the ball and serves it again)	6. ___	___
7.	Just try the toss a few times.	7. ___	___
8.	(tosses the ball)	8. ___	___
9.	Not too bad.	9. ___	___
10.	(tosses the ball)	10. ___	___
11.	That was good!	11. ___	___
12.	(tosses the ball)	12. ___	___
13.	(grimaces)	13. ___	___
14.	That was too high.	14. ___	___

Key: 1. t rea. 2. t sol. 3. s res. 4. t rea. 5. t sol.
6. s res. 7. t sol. 8. s res. 9. t rea. 10. s res.
11. t rea. 12. s res. 13. s rea. 14. t rea

Excerpt 8: On the Front Seat of a Car

1.	Put your indicator on and turn.	1. ____ ____
2.	(turns the corner)	2. ____ ____
3.	That was good.	3. ____ ____
4.	I go left here?	4. ____ ____
5.	Yeah.	5. ____ ____
6.	So get over to the left lane.	6. ____ ____
7.	(moves to left lane)	7. ____ ____
8.	I can go right through?	8. ____ ____
9.	No!	9. ____ ____
10.	Break your speed, break your speed.	10. ____ ____
11.	There's a car coming. My God!	11. ____ ____
12.	Turn now!	12. ____ ____
13.	(turns very quickly in front of oncoming car)	13. ____ ____
14.	That wasn't too good. Whew!	14. ____ ____
15.	Now, we have to turn at the next stop sign.	15. ____ ____

Key: 1. t sol, 2. s res, 3. t rea, 4. s sol; 5. t res;
6. t sol, 7. s res, 8. s sol, 9. t res, 10. t sol,
11. t rea, 12. t sol; 13. s res; 14. t rea; 15. t str

Excerpt 9: A Mini-Makeup

1. What are we going to do tonight?	1. ____	____
2. Well, we'll do a mini-makeup tonight.	2. ____	____
3. Sit over here, will you? (A touches chair.)	3. ____	____
4. (B goes to chair and sits down.) Sure.	4. ____	____
5. Well, here, take off that old makeup. (hands person the cleansing cream.)	5. ____	____
6. OK. ((starts to apply cleansing cream.)	6. ____	____
7. Mmmm . . . I like the feel of this liquid cleanser.	7. ____	____
8. Well, just put it all over your face, eyes, throat--go ahead--now here, take some kleenex and wipe it off.	8. ____	____
9. (B takes kleenex and wipes off cleansing cream.)	9. ____	____
10. Mmmm . . . good.	10. ____	____
11. Now here, I'll saturate this cotton pad with skin freshener.	11. ____	____
12. Then you'll apply it to your face.	12. ____	____
13. (applies cotton pad)	13. ____	____
14. Oh, that feels so good . . . nice and cool!	14. ____	____
15. (looks at cotton) Uh . . . uh . . . look at that dirt!	15. ____	____
16. Well, that shows you that a cleanser and freshener must be used to remove makeup--even if you do use soap and water--it's a must!	16. ____	____

Key: 1. s sol, 2. t res, 3. t sol, 4. s res, 5. t sol, 6. s res,
7. s rea, 8. t sol, 9. s res, 10. s rea, 11. t str, 12. t sol,
13. s res, 14. s rea, 15. s rea, 16. t rea

Excerpt 10: At a Supermarket

1. What are you all doing here?	1. ____	____
2. We've waiting.	2. ____	____
3. Why don't you line up?	3. ____	____
4. (Those addressed line up.)	4. ____	____
5. Now, we'll get you out of here quickly.	5. ____	____

Key: 1. t sol, 2. s res, 3. t sol, 4. s res, 5. t rea

Excerpt 11: The One Thing Needful*

1. Now, what I want is, facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. 1.____ ____

2. Girl number twenty---who is that girl? 2.____ ____

3. Sissy Jupe, sir. 3.____ ____

4. Sissy is not a name. 4.____ ____

5. It's father as calls me Sissy sir. 5.____ ____

6. Then he has no business to do it. 6.____ ____

7. What is your father? 7.____ ____

8. He belongs to the horse-riding, if you please, sir. 8.____ ____

9. We don't want to know anything about that here. 9.____ ____

10. Your father breaks horses, don't he? 10.____ ____

11. If you please, sir, when they can get any to break, they do break horses in the ring, sir. 11.____ ____

12. You musn't tell us about the ring here. . . 12.____ ____

13. Give me your definition of a horse. 13.____ ____

14. (Sissy Jupe thrown into the greatest alarm by this demand.) 14.____ ____

15. Girl number twenty unable to define a horse!
Girl number twenty possessed of no facts in reference to one of the commonest of animals! 15.____ ____

16. Some boy's definition of a horse. Bitzer, yours. 16.____ ____

17. Quadraped. Graminivorous. Forty teeth, namely twenty-four grinders, four eye-teeth, and twelve incisive. Sheds coat in the spring; in marshy countries, sheds hoofs, too. Hoofs hard, but requiring to be shod with iron. Age known by marks in mouth. 17.____ ____

18. Now girl number twenty, you know what a horse is. 18.____ ____

19. Now, we are ready to continue to fill the vessels each of you contains so that you are all full to the brim with facts. 19.____ ____

Key: 1. t str, 2. t sol, 3. s res, 4. t rea, 5. s rea, 6. t rea, 7. t sol, 8. s res,
9. t rea, 10. t sol, 11. s res, 12. t rea, 13. t sol, 14. s rea, 15. t rea,
16. t sol, 17. s res, 18. t rea, 19. t str

*From Hard Times by Charles Dickens, Chapter 1.

B. Five Excerpts from Non-Teaching Settings*

Excerpt 1: Before Language Class**

1. (two students are eating nuts) 1.___ ___
2. These are great. 2.___ ___
3. Yeah. But man are they oily. 3.___ ___
4. Yeah. They're fattening too. You see. I'm already overweight and really don't need them. 4.___ ___
5. I like these as well as two legged nuts! I like them both. 5.___ ___
6. I like peanuts better than these. 6.___ ___
7. My father likes them better too. They go good with beer. 7.___ ___

Key: 1.s1&2 str, 2. s1 rea, 3. s2 rea, 4. s1 rea, 5. s2 rea, 6. s1 rea
7. s2 rea

Excerpt 2: At the Hospital

1. Well, I sure am glad you came to see me. 1.___ ___
2. Glad I could make it--just happened to be in town. 2.___ ___
3. Well, this whole thing started two weeks ago. I started to get a pain right after I ate and then I simply could not sleep. 3.___ ___
4. Uh huh. 4.___ ___
5. When I sat up I was OK but as soon as I got into bed the pain came back. Then, I was so tired all day long that I could'nt do anything. Being tired meant I didn't feel like eating anything so I was just in terrible shape. 5.___ ___
6. What a shame. 6.___ ___
7. I was lucky though. Joan was patient. She even sat up with me some nights. I don't know how she did it because I got exhausted. But she kept going. 7.___ ___
8. You're lucky you married her. 8.___ ___
9. I sure am. 9.___ ___

Key: 1. t rea, 2. s rea, 3. t str, 4. s rea, 5. t str, 6. s rea,
7. t str, 8. s rea, 9. t rea

*Some editing of these transcripts has been done in a few places to make the coding os some communications less ambiguous.

**Add the subscripts 1 and 2 to "s" when peers are communicating with each other and neither can be identified as the one in charge so that the sources of the communications can be differentiated.

1.	Here's your big chance, Cookie Monster.	1. ___	___
2.	No can do.	2. ___	___
3.	If you can remember where the other jet plane was.	3. ___	___
4.	No can eat jet plane.	4. ___	___
5.	OK.	5. ___	___
6.	But choose one anyhow. What number do you choose?	6. ___	___
7.	Oh, darn.	7. ___	___
8.	I think Cookie will try number three. Three.	8. ___	___
9.	Let's see what's behind number three! (spins wheel)	9. ___	___
10.	(Jet plane appears)*	10. ___	___
11.	(Buzz, noise, applause)*	11. ___	___
12.	Wow, look at that! It's a jet plane. Two jet planes. You have just won. You get to win a jet plane, Cookie Monster.	12. ___	___
13.	No want jet plane.	13. ___	___
14.	Wonderful, wonderful. Mr. Smith, I'm sorry all you get is a consolation prize of a cookie.	14. ___	___
15.	A cookie?	15. ___	___
16.	Cookie!	16. ___	___
17.	Oh, I coulda had a jet plane.	17. ___	___
18.	Wait, wait, wait, wait guys, wait guys. Wait a minute. Wait.	18. ___	___
19.	You want jet plane?	19. ___	___
20.	Do I?	20. ___	___
21.	Me want cookie. Me want cookie.	21. ___	___
22.	You want trade?	22. ___	___
23.	Sure.	23. ___	___
24.	OK. OK. I get cookie.	24. ___	___
25.	Oh, I get jet plane.	25. ___	___
26.	Oh boy!	26. ___	___
27.	(Ringing and "The Remembering Game" in print)*	27. ___	___

*Use "o" to code the sources here since neither "c" nor "s" fit.

Key: 1. t str, 2. s1 rea, 3. t str, 4. s1 rea, 5. t rea, 6. t sol,
7. s1 rea, 8. s1 res, 9. t sol, 10. o res, 11. o rea, 12. t rea,
13. s1 rea, 14. t rea, 15. s2 rea, 16. s1 rea, 17. s2 rea, 18. t rea,
19. s1 sol, 20. s2 res, 21. s1 rea, 22. s1 sol, 23. s2 res, 24. s1 rea,
25. s2 rea, 26. s1 rea, 27. o rea

Excerpt 4: Being Pinned

1.	Let's talk about the girls.	1. ____ ____
2.	Maryann is really losing weight.	2. ____ ____
3.	Did you see she's pinned?	3. ____ ____
4.	Yes. (chuckles)	4. ____ ____
5.	The way you said it.	5. ____ ____
6.	I don't think anything big is going to develop.	6. ____ ____
7.	Well, she's planning on getting engaged soon.	7. ____ ____
8.	Well, I might think of something like that, but getting pinned doesn't mean much to me.	8. ____ ____
9.	Well, that's right before the engagement.	9. ____ ____
10.	That's the first step.	10. ____ ____
11.	Well if you go to college.	11. ____ ____
12.	Yes.	12. ____ ____
13.	Well doesn't that boy go to college?	13. ____ ____
14.	Yes. He's a junior at Manhattan College.	14. ____ ____
15.	Yes, but I mean for other people who are young and who just met one another, they don't think of getting pinned.	15. ____ ____
16.	Oh I see.	16. ____ ____
17.	You only go through it if you go to college and you're in a fraternity or something like that.	17. ____ ____
18.	That's why it doesn't mean anything to me. I guess it would mean something to her.	18. ____ ____
19.	Oh it definitely does. You had to see her. She comes walking into the lounge with no coat on making sure everyone saw it.	19. ____ ____
20.	Did anybody notice?	20. ____ ____
21.	Rita was there and she saw it first and called out, "Maryann is pinned." We all jumped up and kissed her and everything. She was all excited.	21. ____ ____
22.	She's a nice girl.	22. ____ ____
23.	That she is.	23. ____ ____

Key: 1. s1 str, 2. s2 rea, 3. s1 sol, 4. s2 res, 5. s2 rea, 6. s1 rea, 7. s2 rea
8. s1 rea, 9. s2 rea, 10. s1 rea, 11. s2 rea, 12. s1 rea, 13. s1 sol, 14. s2 res
15. s1 rea, 16. s2 rea, 17. s1 rea, 18. s2 rea, 19. s1 rea, 20. s2 sol, 21. s1 res
22. s2 rea. 23. s1 rea

Excerpt 5: Two Fishermen

1.	I understand you're a fisherman.	1.___	___
2.	Yeah, I like to fish. Yeah.	2.___	___
3.	Yeah, Keisha was telling me and asked me if I liked to fish and I've tried it a few times, but I think I could get into like sitting by a stream and just throwing out and laying back.	3.___	___
4.	And laying back.	4.___	___
5.	But that boat fishing. . .	5.___	___
6.	Not on a boat in other words?	6.___	___
7.	No.	7.___	___
8.	I've been out on a boat a couple of times, and I just could'nt get into it.	8.___	___
9.	I like it. I like it. I like all phases of it.	9.___	___
10.	Yeah.	10.___	___
11.	But see the only phase I been in so far is off the boat.	11.___	___
12.	Uh-huh.	12.___	___
13.	I really want to get into it real deep, but see to get into fishing real deep you need a car. You need transportation.	13.___	___
14.	Right, especially around here.	14.___	___
15.	When you get through fishing, you know, you smell like a fish. When you finish fishing, you know, you can't get on public transportation.	15.___	___
16.	Right.	16.___	___
17.	Because it's kinda messy.	17.___	___
18.	Yeah, right.	18.___	___
19.	Plus you need all the gear.	19.___	___
20.	Yeah. That's where it gets expensive.	20.___	___
21.	It gets expensive. And I don't have all the gear.	21.___	___
22.	Right.	22.___	___
23.	What I'm going to do is just go to the boat.	23.___	___

Key: 1. s1 sol, 2. s2 res, 3. s1 rea, 4. s2 rea, 5. s1 rea, 6. s2 sol, 7. s1 res, 8. s2 rea, 9. s1 rea, 10. s2 rea, 11. s1 rea, 12. s2 rea, 13. s1 rea, 14. s2 rea, 15. s1 rea, 16. s2 rea, 17. s1 rea, 18. s1 rea, 19. s2 rea, 20. s1 rea, 21. s2 rea, 22. s1 rea, 23. s2 str

Now that you have coded the excerpts, you have probably started to see some of the patterns of the sources and purposes in both teaching and non-teaching settings and the differences between them. As Table 1 below shows, the major differences in the distribution of purposes between the two settings is that soliciting and responding account for two-thirds of the communications in teaching settings while reacting accounts for two-thirds of the communications in non teaching settings.

(Insert Table 1 here.)

The major difference in the distribution of source plus purpose is that in teaching settings those labelled "t" account for almost all structuring, soliciting and reacting and those labelled "s" account for almost all responding while in non-teaching settings those labelled "s" account for almost all soliciting, responding and reacting and an amount of structuring equal to "t." In short, as the percentages in Table 1 illustrate clearly, the patterns of source and purpose in teaching and non-teaching settings are completely incongruent. What this incongruity suggests is that students in language classes are exposed to patterns of communication that occur only in other classes. If one of our tasks as language teachers is to prepare students to communicate both in teaching settings and non-teaching settings, the only conclusion we can reach after examining this incongruity between the patterns of communication in teaching and non-teaching settings is that we need to expand the patterns of communications our students are exposed to.

II. Expanding Some Common Patterns of Communication in Language Classes

You were not invited to code the transcripts primarily to illustrate some of the communication patterns in teaching settings. Most of you are familiar with the classic pattern in which the teacher structures, solicits and reacts and the student responds, though many of you would probably describe the pattern with different terms.* Rather, you were invited to code all the excerpts for two other reasons: to highlight some differences between patterns of communication in teaching and non-teaching settings and to familiarize you with the labels for the purposes so that in this section we can discuss ways to expand the classic teaching pattern with a common vocabulary.

*Of course, the proportions of each purpose vary a bit from class to class. Obviously in many college lecture classes the amount of teacher structuring is close to 100%, and in unruly classes the amount of student reactions may be equal to the amount of teacher reactions. But if the class is totally out of control it is no longer a teaching setting! Thus, it is hard to think of any teaching setting we have been in or read about either in fiction or educational literature in which those labelled "s" dominate the purposes of structuring, soliciting and reacting.

Though Table 1 illustrates the incongruence between teaching and non-teaching settings, a more graphic way to think about the different combinations of sources and purposes is to think of the sources and purposes as items in a two slot substitution table. To contrast teacher to student communications with peer communications and student to teacher communications a third slot can be added showing the target of each communication. In both slots 1 and 2 the word teacher is used in the broad sense to indicate anyone who seems to be in charge or to be dominating the communications and the word student is used to indicate those who are being directed or dominated by another or who seem to act like peers. As in any substitution table, any item in any slot can combine with any item in any other slot.

A Three Slot Substitution Table

1 Source	2 Target	3 Purpose
t	t	str
		sol
s	s	res
		rea

As we have seen, the commonest combinations in teaching settings are these:

t	s	str
t	s	sol
s	t	res
t	s	rea

Obviously, since this means that the only source who can structure, solicit and react is the person represented by "t" one way to enable the "s" in slot 1 to combine with the "s" and "t" in slot 2 and the purposes "str, sol, rea" in slot 3 is to have a student assume the role of a teacher. In the tennis lesson in Excerpt 7 and the driving lesson in Excerpt 8 those teaching are not necessarily full time teachers but are playing the role of teachers because of a skill they have and want to share. By having students teach things they know to each other, and at times to

the teacher, they are given an opportunity to communicate purposes they cannot when they are in the student role. Everyone can teach something. Some know songs, others games, and still others skills such as cooking, sewing, painting, etc. , and all non native English speaking students know a great deal about their native land and culture. Since it is impossible to teach most of these things without using language, both the student teaching and those being taught will experience not only the content being taught but also the language being used to teach it. Of course, the students teaching will have to accompany their oral communications with realia, gestures, pictures, diagrams and perhaps even notes written on the blackboard. But while at first glance the use of mediums other than oral language may seem to weaken the power of the activity, in fact the use of mediums other than oral language strengthens the activity. In both teaching and non-teaching settings we normally use a range of mediums to communicate. When the students teach they will have a rare opportunity to parallel this normal pattern of discourse; as students they are normally limited to the use of their voice alone in responses, though teachers constantly use gestures, pictures and the blackboard in addition to speech.

In spite of the fact that there are similar patterns in most teaching settings, there are some differences between teaching settings with different numbers of participants. In teaching settings with around 15 or more, the implicit rule is that student to teacher solicits are not allowed. That does not mean that they do not occur some times, and even that they are answered, expecially when the solicit involves classroom procdure. But as Excerpt 1, lines 10 & 17, shows, because a student to teacher solicit is not part of the usual pattern in large classes, when a solicit does occur it is likely not to be responded to. Thus, if students are asked to teach large groups, those who are being taught will only have a chance to respond. If the students teach small groups, however, student to teacher reactions and solicits that will be responded to will be communicated, as they were in the driving lesson in Excerpt 8 and the makeup lesson in Excerpt 9.

Another reason for having students teach small groups rather than the entire class is to exclude the teacher; he cannot be in all groups at the same time! It is important to exclude the teacher because of the usual role played by the teacher, the role of the person in charge. Teachers usually feel and act differently when their supervisors or teacher trainers are in their classes observing them teach, and there is no reason to think that students trying to teach would not be affected in the same way.

In Excerpt 3, At Customs, and Excerpt 6, New in the Neighborhood, though the pattern of sources and purposes is similar to the other teaching setting excerpts, the role of both "t" and "s" is different. Both the official and the newcomer are soliciting to teach themselves. They need the information in the responses themselves. In the other teaching settings, the students who are responding need to know the information, not the teacher soliciting. Customs officials, policemen, reporters and others who interview all solicit as much as teachers, maybe even more so. But they solicit to teach themselves, not others. To give students a chance to teach themselves through soliciting, they can be given opportunities to interview and find out things they do not know. By interviewing target language speaking parents, store keepers, professionals, workers and others in the community/they want to find out something from, students can discover not only a great deal of information, but also they can learn how to learn on their own, acting as their own teacher.

The notes taken during the interviews, together with transcriptions of excerpts from the lessons students teach, made by the students from tape recordings of the lessons, can be used as texts in subsequent lessons in which the regular teacher follows the classic pattern: t to s str, t to s sol, s to t res and t to s rea. The transcribed excerpts from lessons and interview notes can also be used to help show the regular teacher what the students know and can do--a constant need all teachers have. Listening to recordings of students structuring, soliciting and reacting to their peers in class or on the street or transcribing and reading these communications will tell teachers much more about the students' language needs than the students' responses to teachers' solicits in class or in placement inter-

views. We have all heard of cases in which students are classified into class level by their responses to teacher solicits in an empty room. The same students who respond with one or two words to each teacher solicit and are thus often labelled as low in verbal ability, structure, solicit, respond and react with long communications a few minutes after their "test" when they meet their peers in the playground, at a bar or in a shop.

While both student taught classes and small group sessions will give students a chance to structure, solicit, respond and react to both peers and the teacher, and interviews will provide students with opportunities to solicit many different targets in a range of settings so the students will not be dependent for learning only on teachers soliciting them, neither of these types of activities provide opportunities for students to communicate these purposes in the sequences or proportions they occur in in non-teaching settings The different proportions of purposes and sources in teaching and non-teaching settings were presented in Table 1. The different sequences of sources and purposes in teaching and non-teaching settings are shown in these two substitution tables:

Teaching Settings			Non-Teaching Settings		
t	s	str	t	s	str
t	s	sol	s	t	rea
s	t	res	t	s	rea
t	s	rea	s1	s2	rea
t	s	sol	s2	s1	rea
s	t	res	s2	s1	str
t	s	rea	s1	s2	rea

In teaching settings, one party knows information that he wants to get the other person to know or one party seeks to know information the other person knows. In non-teaching settings, information is not transmitted as much as it is elaborated upon or acknowledged. The conversation **in Excerpt 2, At the Hospital,** under Non-Teaching Settings, shows examples of elaborating on information and acknowledging it. At first glance, the pattern may seem to be misplaced as an example of a non-teaching setting because the person being visited structures a great deal, and one might equate this with a professor lecturing. But the patient is only elaborating on what his visitor, a nephew, already knows. This is shown by the nephew's

acknowledgements: "Uh huh, What a shame. You're lucky you married her." The intention of the uncle is to elaborate on common information rather than to give information that he will subsequently solicit his nephew about.

As the hospital conversation illustrates, long elaboration is done by structuring and brief elaboration and acknowledgment are done by reacting. In addition to each person reacting to both each other's reactions as well as the common topic or referent in the conversation--be it nuts as in Excerpt 1, illness as in Excerpt 2, a friend getting pinned as in Excerpt 4 or fishing as in Excerpt 5--the participants may solicit and respond. But these purposes are secondary to those of reacting and structuring. If one participant begins to solicit too much in a non-teaching setting, it is changed into a teaching setting. Whether the solicits are made to increase the knowledge of the source of the solicit as in interviews or they are made to increase the knowledge of the target of the solicit as in classes does not make any difference. The major intention of both types of solicits is to exchange information rather than elaborate on it or acknowledge it.

To provide students with the opportunity to structure and react in patterns that parallel conversations, common referents are necessary. Some referents can be the materials students have read in common. Long has shown that student discussion of common readings without the teacher present leads to a much wider range of communications than the usual teacher student discussions. (Long, 1976) But in life, reading materials provide only one type of referent. As we have seen, activities such as fishing together, discussing a friend's recent pinning or a relative's illness also provide referents. Thus, in addition to providing common readings, we must plan activities for the students to engage in such as visiting people and places together, The reason we must arrange real activities rather than play acted activities is that play acted activities do not provide common referents. Pretending we have visited a hospital together while in fact we have just walked across the classroom does not provide a common referent; it simply makes us imagine what a visit would be like and each of us will imagine the visit differently thus making the establishment of a common referent impossible.

Another reason for field trips is that they are best taken in pairs or small groups. Since we only structure and react to each other when we each have many chances to communicate, it is hardly possible for students in large classes to react to each other even if they have a common referent; students need small groups to structure and react about their common experiences. Often in elaborating we reveal intimate feelings and by definition we cannot share intimate feelings with a class but only with a few individuals.

Both the in-class and out-of-class sessions in which common experiences are elaborated on and acknowledged can be tape recorded and transcribed by the students who participate. If confidentiality is desired, the names can be left off the transcripts. The records produced can then serve as samples of genuine dialogs during lessons in which the teacher follows the classic teaching pattern. Or, those who participated in the peer and small group shared experiences outside of the classroom could share their experiences as well as their transcribed communications with other small groups. In this way, the experiences common to only a few would become common referents to a few more. And the reports themselves would be a common referent that those listening to the report could elaborate on and acknowledge by structuring and reacting. Dialogs in many commercial texts not only fail to provide common experiences for students but they present language that is about as far from the language of real people as the images in travel brochures are from the life of the people the travel brochures purport to represent.

The pattern of sources and purposes in Excerpt 4, The Remembering Game, shows more variety than the other excerpts from non-teaching settings. For example, Cookie Monster reacts to himself rather than to peers or the Master of Ceremonies: "No can do, Oh, darn." And he negotiates a trade with Mr. Smith (lines 19 and 20) involving the prize that produces an s to s sol and an s to s res. In addition, we have to remember that the program is produced to be seen. As the jet plane appears to the Cookie Monster and Mr. Smith and the Master of Ceremonies it may function as a response to the Master of Ceremonies' spinning of the wheel. But to some viewers it probably serves as a solicit to which the viewers, acting as students, respond

by yelling "a jet plane." And as the Cookie Monster is reacting to himself many viewers are no doubt hollering "You can do it, come on." And some also probably make comments such as "I'd like a cookie now" or "I'd like to win a jet plane."

Two implications can be drawn from Excerpt 3, The Remembering Game. First, having students engage in game like activities in which they have to guess what things are, what's going to happen next or how things work will probably produce a pattern of communications different from those produced in other non-teaching settings. Many teachers use competetive games and activities to teach language based on the pattern of the spelling bee. But though these are game like, the classic teaching pattern is followed when they are played. The excerpt from Sesame Street though implies that students need to engage in game like activities that do not involve the teaching of language directly but engage participants in trying to solve a problem or guess answers. Viewers of programs like Sesame Street, the $20,000 Pyramid, Nova, and even mystery shows try to solve the problems presented before those on the shows do. Trying to put a jigsaw puzzle together, trying to win monopoly or other board games, trying to figure out the parts of seeds under a microscope, trying to figure out how a music box or other machine works--any activity that involves students in solving problems in a game like way--will produce communications with a wide range of purposes.

The second implication to be drawn from the Sesame Street excerpt is that having students watch activites in small groups will cause them to communicate in patterns different from those communicated by the participants in the activity and different from other non-teaching settings. Recording students' communications as they view game programs on television, science experiments, demonstrations of skills and other activities will reveal patterns of communications unique to those who play the role of observers. As observers we are extremely free and the recordings will show a great number of spontaneous communications that are often totally unrelated to each other but rather related to the activity being viewed.

The tapes and transcripts from all the suggested activities--students teaching, interviewing, communicating in small groups on field trips, playing games, assuming the role of observers of activities--can serve not only as material for lessons that are taught in the classical way. The transcribed tapes can also serve as constant reminders of the contrast between language as subject matter and language as a means of communication. In Excerpt 11, The One Thing Needful, Dickens presents the character called Gradgrind as an archetype of the teacher who accepts only what for language teachers would be language as subject matter. After Bitzer's definition of a horse, Gradgrind says to Sissy Jupe, "Now girl number twenty, you know what a horse is." He says it as if her experiences with horses gave her no knowledge because he in fact believed her experiences with horses in her father's stable and at races did not give her any knowledge. There is a constant tension in all teaching between these two kinds of knowledge, what Barnes calls "school knowledge and action knowledge." (Barnes, 1976:79) Studying transcripts of our students' communications in a range of activities and settings can help us avoid ignoring what our students do know and can do. No matter how determined we are to not play the role of a Gradgrind, part of our role as a teacher is to be a Gradgrind. One sure way to keep our Gradgrind role under control is to stop teaching and engage our students in activities because by definition a good part of the role of a teacher is to structure, solicit and react to responses we have solicited.

Conclusion

This presentation has been exploratory, not exhaustive. Obviously, there are other sequences of sources, targets and purposes not only in the excerpts presented here, but in others you could collect. There were no excerpts showing people communicating as they observed activities or were engaged with predicting how things worked in game like activities for example. There are other characteristics of communications to explore as well. The types of implicit rules that govern the patterns of sources and moves govern a host of other characteristics.

The way we select topics for conversations, the way we take turns in exchanges, show we are listening, change the content, disagree--implicit rules govern all of these. Some of them are described elsewhere. (Fanselow, 1977)

Just as there are implicit rules, there are implicit purposes, sometimes called "hidden agendas." In this presentation, one implicit purpose, which is now becoming explicit, was to interest you in systematically looking at communications in a range of settings and/providing your students with activities that would allow them to communicate in the ways you discovered. As language teachers, we are extremely fortunate. As Billows says, the teaching of language is the teaching of life itself, slices of experience. (1961:17) The more slices we become conscious of and understand, the more slices we can involve our students with. For too long, the aspects of language we have been looking at have been aspects of form. We have tried to discover the implicit rules that govern the formation of words and sentences. Important as these may be, they do not lend any insight into the way we communicate in a range of settings. We have to look beyond words and individual sentences to the sequences and patterns of sentences; by doing this we look at language as living because we see it in terms of the functions it serves in different settings. We see that we use it not just to show we know it, which is what we often have our students do in teaching settings, but to get things done to regulate behavior, to interact with others, to develop our own thoughts and views of the world, to learn about the world, to pretend and finally to communicate to others what we learn. (Halliday, 1973:17) It is these different functions, determined to a great extent by the settings and activities in them, that produce different patterns of characteristics of communications such as the sources and purposes.

The second and most important implicit aim has been to interest you in systematically studying the communications you and your students make to see the extent to which the communications actually parallel your intentions, to see how you and they communicate and whether you and they change as you all participate in a wider range of activities. From my own experience with teachers and from reading, I know that there is a strong feeling that teaching defies systematic study. "Sometimes the same thing works with one class and not with another" is an often heard comment. As Barnes says, "It is a recipe for unpopularity to suggest to teachers that there are patterns in their classroom behavior which can be described and

compared with those of other teachers or with their own on another occasion. . . (teachers) believe that their teaching is a unique response to what their pupils say and do, arising moment by moment during lessons." (Barnes, 1976:172) But he also says, and we have seen from the excerpts, that in fact there are common patterns in teaching behavior as in all behavior.

Evidence exists to strongly suggest that our intentions as teachers and our teaching behaviors are not always congruent. In two studies of the pauses teachers make after solicits and between student responses and teacher reactions, junior high school English and science teachers trained in different places and with different views of teaching were all found to exhibit extremely similar patterns of behavior in regards to pauses. The teachers all solicited in their classrooms at twice the rate they did in conversations outside of their classrooms. And they all gave students classified as slow one-half the time to respond that they allowed students classified as bright. They had not intended to solicit so quickly nor had they been trained to, yet they did. (Hoetker, 1968; Rowe, 1969)

Another study which revealed differences between teacher intention and actual behavior was done by Lundgren. After recording, transcribing and coding lessons taught by scores of teachers who had been in an in-service program to transform their teaching methods, he found that they had not only not altered their methods in any observable ways but that they all followed almost the same pattern, though before the in-service training they had been trained at different places. In the transcripts there were a number of instances where the teachers told the students about the new methods they had been trained in and were supposedly using; they also exhibited enthusiasm about the methods. But their patterns of teaching remained the same! (Lundgren, 1975)

The classic pattern of teacher behavior has been with us a long time, as we know from both experience and research. (Hoetker and Ahlbrand, 1969) It is not that teachers are not sincere, interested in change and competent. It is not that teachers do not want to excel in their work--I have never met a teacher who has not wanted to do a good job! The fact is that both teachers and students are locked

into roles that the setting determines. In a teaching setting, whether it be in a language classroom, on a tennis court, in a supermarket as a manager is trying to organize lines of customers, or at customs where an official is trying to inform himself about tourists' purchases, implicit rules exist that control our behavior. When a person follows this pattern in a non-teaching setting such as at a cocktail party people try to isolate the person and describe the person as "pedantic." Postman has argued that our world would fall apart if we could not predict how others were going to act in a particular setting. And this is precisely the reason we cannot change the pattern of our teaching when we are in front of the classroom; students would not know how to act. (Postman, 1976:48) And this is why that in order to expand the range of patterns of communication, we must expand the range of activities and settings. In most of the activities suggested in this presentation the teacher is no longer teaching; he is released from the role of teacher that demands that he act in a set pattern. He is released from the implicit rules that govern teaching and thus has broken the rules of what has been called the "classroom game." (Bellack, 1966)

I hope you have discovered at least partial answers to the two questions asked in the introduction that formed the explicit aim of this presentation. But I hope even more that my "implicit" purposes have been met and that you will begin taping communications in a range of settings and classifying characteristics of them and that you will begin to develop activities that parallel the patterns of communications you find, and analyze the extent to which the activities you and your students engage in parallel your intentions.

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